

The KEY of LIBBERTY

By WILLIAM MANNING

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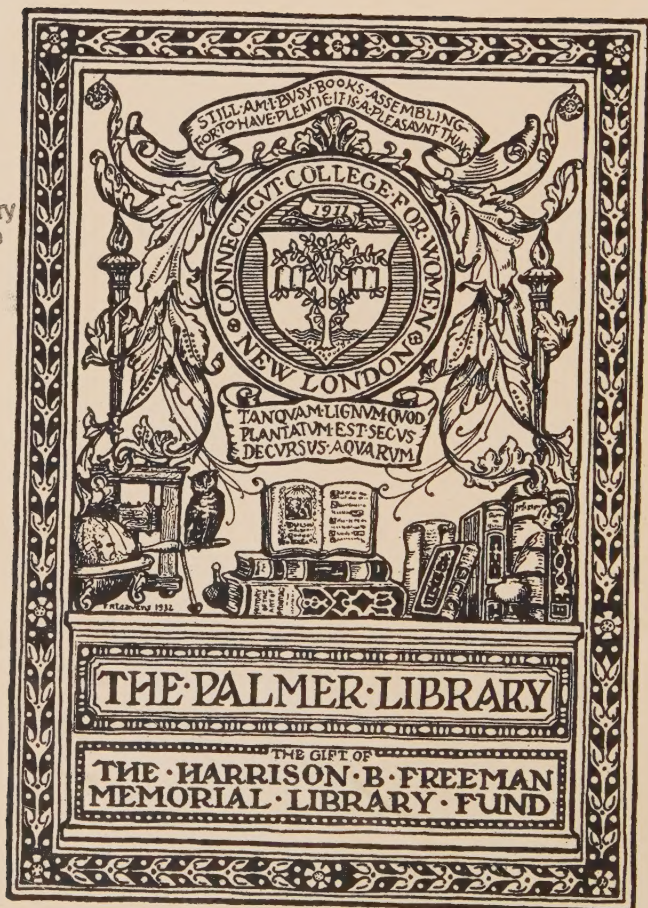
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THE KEY OF LIBERTY

*SHEWING THE CAUSES WHY A FREE
GOVERNMENT HAS ALWAYS FAILED,
AND A REMIDY AGAINST IT*

Written in the year 1798 by
WILLIAM MANNING
of Billerica, Massachusetts

With notes and a foreword by
SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON
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Foreword

William Manning was a New England farmer, with little in his outward life to distinguish him from the rest of the Yankee yeomanry. His paternal ancestors came to Massachusetts from England, in the great Puritan migration. He was born in North Billerica in 1747, on the same farm that his great-grandfather had hewed out of the wilderness; and there he lived and died.

It was a level, fertile farmstead near the Concord River, about four miles from its junction with the Merrimac. The house, now known as the Old Manse, was built by the same pioneer ancestor in 1696. During the Indian wars it served the community as a garrison house.¹ Framed in massive oak, boarded with weather-rusted pine clapboards, covered with a shingled roof which sloped almost to the ground on the north side, the house was already old-fashioned in 1797, when its owner was suffering the growing pains of authorship. Its few, small rooms, huddled about a great central chimney, sheltered not only William and Sarah Manning and ten or eleven of their thirteen children, but an occasional traveller. For, situated as it was on the main road between the seacoast and the upper Merrimac Valley, the Old Manse had been used as a tavern since the time of William's father. The tavern books, kept in his hand, are still in existence, recording sundry gills of rum, mugs of flip, suppers, nights'

¹ William H. Manning, "The Manning Families of New England," Salem, 1902.

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lodging, and baiting of horses. Likewise are noted many days' work, with man and team, on the Middlesex Canal, which passed within half a mile of the Old Manse on its way to Boston.

Our village Hampden, then, was fairly well-off, by the frugal standards of his day. But his inner life was a turmoil. The fire of liberty kindled in his soul by the flaming words of Otis and Adams, had never died down. His mind was not stagnant, as the waters of the canal that ran hard by, nor placid as the Concord River which bordered his east meadow. It was more like the Merrimac, the roaring of whose rapids rang in his ears during the sleepless nights when he pondered how that liberty he had fought to win, might be preserved.

When the year 1775 opened, William Manning was twenty-seven years old, and the father of four children. As sergeant in Captain Solomon Pollard's company of minute-men, he responded to the alarm of the nineteenth of April, and marched to Concord, arriving just too late to take part in the famous fight at the bridge. Shortly after, he received a commission as second lieutenant, but seems to have performed no military service after 1776. Ten years later he was chosen for two terms a selectman of the town of Billerica. No other facts of his outward life have been preserved.

From his "Key of Libberty," however, it is easy to deduce Manning's attitude on the political questions of the day. He was an out-and-out Jeffersonian Republican. Like the average American farmer, he had a profound distrust of governors and government.

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The political reaction that set in shortly after the War of Independence, he viewed with dismay. Understanding neither the necessity of Hamilton's financial policy,¹ nor the wisdom of Washington's foreign policy, he feared, with Jefferson, that they portended militarism, a British alliance, and monarchy. The French Revolution, which the clergy, the merchants and the gentry of New England viewed with horror, William Manning regarded as the greatest blessing in human history; a beneficent spreading of that bonfire of tyranny he had helped to kindle at Concord Fight. Yet the country as a whole was slowly going over to the Federal party, the instrument of Hamilton's genius. Massachusetts, owing to the interested efforts of the merchants, and the influence of the clergy, had become a stronghold of Federalism. But Manning was not converted. It used to be said of him by his friends that if William Manning were drowned, they would seek his body up-stream, for he would surely not float down with the current like other people!

William Manning was "teased in his mind with these things," as he writes "for many years." How could Americans, who had fought for freedom and liberty in 1776, vote for autocracy and slavery in 1796? Evidently, because they were misled by interested persons. What was the remedy? Correct information, and a union of the plain people against the interested few.

¹ Manning, in fact, had a financial policy of his own. In the family archives is an essay in his hand entitled, "Some proposals for Makeing Restitution to the Original Creditors of Government & to helpe the Continant to a Mediam of trade. Submitted to the Consideration of the Members of the State Legislater of Massachusetts February the 6t 1790."

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It must have been difficult for this untutored farmer to reduce his thoughts to order, and still more to put them on paper. His spelling lends color to his statement that he never had six months' schooling in his life. But in the latter part of 1797 the situation became so alarming, from his point of view, that he could no longer confine his thoughts to neighbors, and the unwilling ears of tired travellers.

Following the ratification of Jay's Anglo-American treaty, which the Jeffersonians regarded as shameful, the French Republic took umbrage, and loosed its corsairs at the new American merchant marine. Here was the opportunity of the high Federalists to turn American patriotism against its former ally, to enter the monarchical alliance that was seeking to crush the French Republic, to discredit American democracy, and to militarize the United States. President Adams had sent a mission to France to demand reparation. Nothing as yet had been heard from it. But military and naval preparations were being pushed at Philadelphia. There was talk of passing laws to banish the republican refugees who had sought our shores, and to silence the Republican press and politicians who dared to oppose. So, with goose-quill and ink-horn, forming the letters one by one like a child, William Manning wrote his "Key of Libberty," made a fair copy, and sent it to the editor of the *Independent Chronicle*, the only Jeffersonian newspaper in Boston.

It is not difficult to see why the "Key of Libberty" was never published, at least by the *Chronicle*. The "remidy" that William Manning prescribed, would

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have put the Republican doctors out of business. A nation-wide association of laborers and farmers, publishing a monthly magazine to supersede the newspaper press, would hardly appeal to a newspaper publisher. And the threatened storm broke in April, 1798, the very month that the manuscript was submitted. Our envoys at Paris reported their famous negotiations with messieurs X, Y and Z, whose insolent demands seemed completely to justify the Federalist policy. Presently the continent was resounding with "Adams and Liberty," "Millions for defense and not one cent for tribute," and the like. Military preparations were hastened. What amounted to a naval war with France began. Jeffersonian Republicans were regarded as little better than traitors. A sedition Act was passed, and several Republican editors spent a term in jail for writing against the war, and warning the American people that they were being deceived.

Among the victims of this persecution was the very editor to whom Manning had sent his "Key." Thomas Adams, proprietor and editor of the *Chronicle*, and Abijah Adams, his brother and clerk, were arraigned for seditious libel, on account of some favorable remarks on the Virginia Resolves of '98 which denounced the Sedition Act. Thomas Adams died before his trial came on, but Abijah served a term of thirty days in jail for his newspaper's temerity. Altogether this "Federalist Reign of Terror," as the Republicans called it, was the worst period of reaction in American history, previous to the World War.

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The manuscript was returned unread, but its author did not lose heart. Almost a year after his first attempt to break into print, William Manning made an abridgement of the "Key" which he sent to Abijah Adams with the following letter¹

Mr. Addams Sir

As this peace was laid before you last April for your opinion upon it, & you then seemed to regret the want of helth & lasure to give it a perusal, the Author haveing drafted it over & made it shorter, he again requests you to give it a thorough persual, & if you think proper to take the opinion of some of the Boston Republicans upon it. For it is thought that if all or a major part of the Republican printers, would Unite (under our present circumstances) to publish it with a page or two left blank ready for signing, & at the same time advertise the magazen Described in it, such a society would be immediately formed, & would make a common cause of defending the Libberty of the press, So that Republican printers would not be personal sufferers by any prosicutions what ever.

It is also thought that unless some speddy & cheeper method is adopted to convey knoedg than by the present mode of newspapers we shall not injoy the Libberty of the press long, for their is not one fift part of the

¹ Printed from Manning's copy. It was probably dated February 15, 1799, which is the date on "A further description of the proposed Labourers Monthly Magazen," on the back of the same sheet of paper.

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common farmers & labourers that are the most interested in the measures of the times, that get any information from them, for they cannot be at the expence of the time & money they cost.

Therefore you are again requested to give it a thorough perusal.

The barer will leave it with you, & it will be called for again in the course of a month, perhaps. But if it should be thought worthy of attention sooner, if you will insert a single line in the chronicle that, a conference is desired with the Labourer, it will be Immediately attended to.

N.B. that the peace is deficient in Many respects is a truth. But if on the whole it is thought worth printing it is proposed to have it drafted over & corrected by some Learned Republican.

This "peace" evidently met the same fate as the first. It was certainly never printed in the *Chronicle*, nor, is it likely, anywhere else. There is no record in the Manning papers of any further correspondence on the subject.

Manning was probably consoled by the election of his hero, Thomas Jefferson, to the presidency in 1801. But he must once more have lamented the lack of correct information among the people, when the Federalists recovered their hold on New England, and pursued a narrow sectional policy which culminated in the Hartford Convention. Shortly before

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that event, on October 21, 1814, William Manning died, in the house where he had always lived. He was survived by his widow, by several married children who lived elsewhere, and by his unmarried children William, Jephthah, Sarah, Lucretia, Luna, Roxa, Lucinda and Jerusha. They maintained the farm and tavern as before, until 1857, when the last survivor moved away.¹

And what of the "Key of Libberty"? We do not claim to have discovered a forgotten Locke or a homespun Montesquieu. Yet apart from its value as a curiosity — the extraordinary spelling, the diction, racy of New England soil, the shrewd home-thrusts on current politics — the work has merits. William Manning appears to have discovered for himself what many great minds have exposed as a fundamental weakness of democracy — the fact that its successful working requires an educated and informed electorate. Unlike most American reformers, Manning did not seek salvation in an extension of the franchise, although the Massachusetts of his day lacked even full manhood suffrage. Nor did he wish any radical alteration of political machinery. Instead, he hoped to enlighten the existing electorate, the great mass of which was unable to obtain correct information on current issues. This defect in democracy, it may be said, is as glaring today as it was in 1798. In spite of the cheap daily and weekly press, it is difficult even for an educated person who wants the truth on men and measures, to obtain it.

The other element of originality in Manning's

¹ Lucinda Manning, who died in 1880, left the estate to trustees, the income to be used for religious instruction.

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work, is his discovery of the value of association. No other American political writer of the Revolutionary generation seems to have apprehended this truth as a general principle, although leaders like Samuel Adams devised political machinery for definite ends. As Manning shrewdly observed, the upper classes of the community, the merchants, lawyers, ministers and physicians, all had their associations, through which they obtained favorable legislation and a friendly press. To prevent these small classes perverting the Republic to their selfish purposes, Manning would establish a nation-wide association of the "Many," the farmers and laborers.

Unknown to Manning, the crude foundations of American trade unionism were being laid at Philadelphia at the time he wrote. But American trade unionism has always been divided within itself, and pursued economic rather than political ends. Manning's aim is nearer that of the British Labour Party, or of the Non-partisan League, than of the American Federation of Labor. His proposal, looking as it does to an eventual world-wide association, is a lonely American whisper of Karl Marx's cry, "Workers of the World, Unite!"

In his remarks on current political issues, Manning is rather narrow and partisan, repeating for the most part the views of his favorite paper, the *Chronicle*. His mind was evidently of a type not yet wholly extinct in rural New England; misinformed and prejudiced on particular issues, but shrewd and penetrating on general principles.

Had the "Key of Libberty," in a more polished

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form, been found among the papers of some well-known statesman of Manning's generation, it would long since have been printed and commented upon. Had an Adams been the author, there would probably have been a book written about it. Yet the appearance of so much political acumen and originality in so obscure a source, would be more astonishing today than at the time Manning lived. The New England farmer of that period was politically minded. The talent for analysis and discussion, inherited from his Calvinist ancestors, had been turned to political objects by the contest with England, and the need for new political institutions.

Some years ago, in a study of the adoption of the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780,¹ I probed into strata of political thought that had never gotten into print; and found that the ordinary voters had detected most of the flaws that time and experience discovered in the Constitution of Massachusetts. Professor Harold J. Laski of the University of London, an authority on the history of political theory, agreed with me that with the sole exception of England of the Commonwealth, no community in modern history has been so fecund in political thought, as America in the revolutionary generation. Manning belonged to this generation; and his "Key" is proof that in 1797 its mental energy had not yet been spent. Not improbably there were hundreds of New England farmers who were Manning's equal in political theory. We are fortunate, indeed, to discover one who put his thoughts on paper.

¹ *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, L., 353.

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A few years ago the Old Manse, where generations of Mannings lived and labored, was saved from destruction, restored with loving care, and made the headquarters of the Manning Family Association, which is composed of descendants of the first Manning who emigrated from England to the colonies in 1633. To this association, and more particularly to its secretary, Mr. Warren H. Manning, who lives on the old farm at North Billerica, is due the credit for preserving the family archives, among which the "Key of Libberty" was discovered. By publishing this forgotten manuscript, the Association is helping to maintain — or to revive, if you will — the great American tradition of liberty.

S. E. MORISON.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,
February, 1922.

The Key of Libberty.

*Shewing the Causes why a free government has
Always Failed, and a Remidy against it.*

*Adresed to the Republicans, Farmers,
Mecanicks, & Labourers*

*In the United States of Amarica
By a Labourer.*

Finished February the 20th, 1798.

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NOTE

The essay has not been “drafted over & corrected by some Larned Republican,” as William Manning suggested; we have thought best “on the hole” to print it *verbatim et literatim*, from one of the three manuscript copies, in the author’s hand. No liberties have been taken with the author’s spelling and grammar, but as he began almost every other word with a capital letter, we have reduced many of these to lower case, in order to make a more legible page. Some of the longer paragraphs have been divided, and punctuation has frequently been supplied in order to bring out the meaning.

THE KEY OF LIBERTY

TO all the Republicans, Farmers, Mechanics, and Labourers In America your Canded attention is Requested to the Sentiments of a Labourer

Introduction

Learning & Knowledg is assential to the preservation of Libberty & unless we have more of it amongue us we Cannot Seporte our Libertyes Long.

I am not a Man of Larning my selfe for I neaver had the advantage of six months schooling in my life. I am no travelor for I neaver was 50 Miles from whare I was born in no direction, & I am no grate reader of antiant history for I always followed hard labour for a living. But I always thought it My duty to search into & see for my selfe in all maters that consansed me as a member of society, & when the war began betwen Brittan & Amarica I was in the prime of Life & highly taken up with Liberty & a free Government. I See almost the first blood that was shed in Concord fite & scores of men dead, dying & wounded in the Cause of Libberty, which caused serious sencations in my mind.

But I beleived then & still believ it is a good cause which we aught to defend to the very last, & I have bin a Constant Reader of publick Newspapers & closely attended to men & measures ever sence,

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through the war, through the operation of paper money, framing Constitutions, makeing & constructing Laws, & seeing what selfish & contracted ideayes of interests would influence the best picked men & bodyes of men.

I have often thought it was imposable ever to seport a free Government, but firmly believing it to be the best sort & the ondy one approved off by heaven it was my unweryed study & prayers to the almighty for many years to find out the real cause & a remidy and I have for many years bin satisfyed in my own mind what the causes are & what would in a grate measure prove a reamidy provided it was carried into efect.

But I had no thoughts of publishing my sentiments on it untill the adoption of the Brittish tretim¹ in the manner it has bin done. But seeing the unweryed pains & the unjustifyable masures taken by large numbers of all ordirs of men who git a living without labour in Elections & many other things to ingure the interests of the Labourer & deprive us of the priviledges of a free government, I came to a resolution (although I have nither larning nor lasure for the purpose) to improve on my Constitutional Right & give you my sentiments on what the causes are & a remidy.

In doing which I must study bravity throughout the hole & but just touch on many things on which voloms mite be written, but hope I shall do it so as to be understood, and as I have no room for compliments & shall often make observations on sundry

¹ Jay's treaty of 1794 with great Britain, frequently mentioned hereinafter.

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ordirs of men & their conduct, I beg leave once for all to observe that I am far from thinking any ordirs of men who live with out Labour are intirely needless or that they are all chargable with blame. But on the conterary I firmly believe that their is a large number in all ordirs who are true frinds to Libberty & that it is from them that Libberty always has & allways will receive its prinsaple seport. But I also beleive that a large majority of them are actuated by very different prinsaples. Also as I am not furnished with Documents & other Information that would be usefull I may represent Some things different from what they really are & so desire that they may be taken onldy as my Opinnion & belived no further than they appear Evident.

A General Description of the Causes that Ruen Republicks

The Causes that I shall Indeavor to Make appear are a Conceived Difference of Interests Between those that Labour for a Living & those that git a Living without Bodily Labour.

This is no new docterin if I may judge from the many scraps of history I have Seen of antiant Republicks. The best information I ever had on this Subject & the gratest colection of historical accounts was by a writer who wrote ten long numbers in the Chronicle in December [17]85 & January 86 stileing himselfe a Free Republican.

In his 4 first numbers he recites a long & blody history about the fudes & animosityes, contentions

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& blood sheds that hapned in the antiant Republicks of Athens, Greesh & Roome & many other nations, betwen the few & Many, the Perthiens,¹ & Plebians, Rich & poor, Dettor & Creditor, &c. In his 5th No. he draws the dividing line betwen the few & the many as they apply to us in Amarica — amongue the few he reacons the marchent, phesition the lawyer & divine and all in the literary walkes of Life, the Juditial & Executive oficers & all the rich who could live with out bodily labour, so that the hole controvercy was betwen those that labour for a living & those who do not. Then tryes to prove that unless these few can have wait or influence in the Government according to their property & high stations in life it can not be free. Then goes on to shew how a government aught to be ballenced and proposes grate alterations in the Constitution of Masachusets — better to acomidate the Interests of the few — wishes to have the Senet represent the hole property of the State & the Representitives the persons ondy, & the Govenour to have as compleet a nagative on both as the King of England has on the Parlement, which he thinks cant be so long as the people vote annully for Govenour & Senetors.

These Sentiments being urged in such a masterly manner just before the adoption of the federal Constitution, & have bin so closely followed by the administraction eversence, (although they are directly contrary to the prinsaples of a free government & no dout written to destroy it) yet if they ware republished they would be of servis to the peopel in many

¹ This is probably as near as the author could get to "patricians."

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things & convince the author (if he is yet alive) that his unweried resarches for his ten numbers were not intirely lost any more than the doings of Josephs Brethering ware when they sold him into Egypt, & they would prove the truth of the reasons I give & the need of the Remidy I shall describe.

I have often Looked over those ten Nos. & Searched other historyes to satisfy my selfe as to the truth of his asertions, but am very far from thinking as he doth — that the destruction of free governments arises from the Licentiousness of the Many or their Representatives, but on the conterary shall indever to prove that their destruction always arises from the ungoverned dispositions & Combinations of the few, & the ignorance of the Many. Which I Shall attempt in the following Manner: —

1. Give a Description of Mankind & nesecaty of Government. 2ly. Give a Description of a free government & its administration. 3ly Shew how the few & Many differ in interests under its operation. 4ly Shew how & by what means the few destroy it. 5ly Elustrate by sundry remarks on the operations of these causes in our governments.

1. A Description of Mankind & Nesecaty of government

To search into & know our selves is of the gratest importance, & the want of it is the cause of the gratest evils suffered in Society. If we knew what alterations might be made in our Minds & Conduct by alterations in our Edication, age, Circumstances,

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& Conditions in this Life, we should be vastly less sensorious on others for their conduct, & more cautious of of trusting them when their was no need of it.

Men are born & grow up in this world with a vast veriaty of capacities, strength & abilityes both of Body & Mind, & have strongly implanted within them numerous pashons & lusts continually urging them to fraud violence & acts of injustis toards one another. He has implanted in him a sence of Right & Rong, so that if he would always follow the dictates of Contiance & consider the advantages of Society & mutual assistance he would need no other Law or Government. Yet as he is sentanced by the just decrees of heaven to hard Labour for a Living in this world, & has so strongly implanted in him a desire of Selfe Seporte, Selfe Defence, Selfe Love, Selfe Conceit, Selfe Importance, & Selfe agrandisement, that it Ingroses all his care and attention so that he can see nothing beyond Selfe — for Selfe (as once described by a Divine) is like an object plased before the eye that hinders the sight of every thing beyond.

This Selfishness may be deserned in all persons, let their conditions in life be what they will, & it opperates so pourfully as to disqualify them from judgeing impartially in their own cause, & a persons being raised to stations of high Honour & trust doth not clear him from this selfeishness. But on the conterary it is a solemn truth that the higher a Man is raised in stations of honour power and trust the greater are his temtations to do rong & gratify

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those selfeish prinsaples. Give a man honour & he wants more. Give him power & he wants more. Give him money & he wants more. In short he is neaver easy, but the more he has the more he wants.

The most comprehensive description of Man I ever saw was by a writer as followeth: — Viz — Man is a being made up of Selfe Love seeking his own hapiness to the misery of all around him, who would Damne a world to save him selfe from temporal or other punishment, & he who denyes this to be his real carrictor is ignorant of him selfe, or else is more than a man.

Many persons ware they to hear such a description of themselves would cry out as Haziell did, ‘ what, is thy Servent a Dog ’ &c.¹ But if they should once git into the circumstances he was in, & have the power & temtations he had, they would prove themselves to be just such a Doge as he did. Haman is annother striking evidence of the depravity & pride of the human hart, for though he could boste of the highest preferments in the gratest kingdom on Earth, the poor Divel exclaimed ‘ all this avails me nothing so long as Mordica refuses to bow the knee.’

From this disposition of Man or the depravity of the human hart, arises not onndly the advantage but the absolute nesecaty of Sivil government — without it Mankind would be continually at war on their own spetia, stealing roving fighting with & killing one another. This all Nations on Earth have bin convinced off, and have established it in some form or other, & their soul aime in doing it is their safty &

¹ 2 Kings viii, 13.

happyness. But for want of wisdom or some plan to curb the ambition & govern those to whom they gave power, they have often been brought to suffer as much under their governments as they would without any — and it still remains uncertain whether any such plan can be found out or not.

2dly. A Description of a free Government & its administration.

There are many sorts of governments, or rather names by which they are distinguished, such as Despotick, Monarchical, & Aristocratical. In these the power to govern is in the hands of one or a few to govern as they please, consequently they are masters & not servants so, that the government is not free.

There are also sundry names by which free governments are described, such as Democratical, Republican, Elective, all which I take to be synonymous terms, or that all those nations who ever adopted them aimed at nearly the same thing, viz. to be governed by known Laws in which the whole nation had a Voice in making, by a full and fair Representation, & in which all the officers in every department of Government are (or ought to be) servants & not masters. Great pains have been taken & the wisdom of many Nations & States have been put to the rack, to delineate the rights of the people & powers of government & former Constitutions so that the blessings of government might be enjoyed without being oppressed by them, and it is thought that it has been much improved upon since the American Revolution.

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The Constitution of Masachusets, although it doth not meterially differ from all the other Constitutions on the Continant, yet as it was later made & the Convention who formed it had the advantage of the others, took more time & fixed a Bill of Rights to it, it is generally thought both in Urope & Amarica to be the compleatest modle of a free government of any existing. France has immitated it in her Constitution & the Federal Constitution by a fair construction both not meterially differ from it. Therefore I shall describe a free government prinsaply from it.

In the Bill of Rights it declares all men to be free & equel as to their rights in & under the government, as in Art. 1, & that all power lays in the peopel & all the officers of government are their servents & accountable to them, as in Art. 5. No man, Corporation, or Body of Men however high by birth riches or honour have no right by them any more than the poorest man in the government, as in Art. 6 & 7th. The people have the Sole right to reforme, alter & totally change their Constitution or Administration of government when they pleas, as In Art. 7th, And have a right to meet and deliberate on all matters of government at such times & in such places & bodyes as they pleas, provided they do it in a peasable Manner, as In Art. 19th. The people have a right to know & convey to each other their sentiments & circumstances through the medium of the press, as in Art. 16th.

A free Government is a government of laws made by the free consent of a majority of the hole people,

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But as it is Impossable for a hole Nation to meet to gether & deliberate, So all their laws Must be made judged & executed by men chosen & appointed for that purpose. And the Duty of all those men are to act & do in makeing judging & executing those laws just as all the people would, provided they ware all together & equilly knew what was for their interest. If any of said officers or any who are chosen to elect or appoint any person into office doth any thing conterary to the true interests of the majority of the peopel, he violates his trust and aught to be punnished for it.

In makeing laws in a free Government their cannot be two much pains or caution used to have them plain to be understood & not too numerous to this end. And as all bodyes of men are liable to the same rashness & mistakes as individuals are, it is nesecary that the Lejeslature Should be divided into two Branches, a Senet & house of Representatives (not that they have seperate interests or objects to act from as some pretend), but that they may gard against each others rashness & mistakes & to see that the laws are made plane & not too numerous. And as a further gard against unnecesary laws the Executive may have a partial negative on the pasing of laws, & in dificult cases the opininn of the Judges may be called in (not that the Juditial or Executive powers aught to have a Voice in saying wheather a law is nesecary or not), but wheather it can be carryed in to execution or not. For their is nothing more assential in a free Government than to keep the Legeslative, Juditial & Executive powers intirely

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seperate, as in Art. 30, not only seperate Departments but intirely different sets of men (for reasons which I shall hereafter give).

The Bisness & Duty of the Juditial power is to hear & exammine all complaints & breaches of the law & pass sentence (not on the law wheather it is good or not) but wheather it is broken or not & in every respect according to law.

The Bisness & Duty of the Executive power is to execute all the laws according to the ordirs & precepts he receivs from the other Powers without any refrerance to their being right or rong in his opinon for that would be lejeslateing & judgeing two.

The soul end of Government is the protection of Life, Liberty & property. The poor mans shilling aught to be as much the care of government as the rich mans pound. Every person in the Nation aught to be compeled to do justis & have it dun to him promptly & without delay. All taxes for the seport of government aught to be layed equilly according to the property each person purseses & the advantages he receives from it, and the peopel aught to seport just so many persons in office as is absolutely nesecary and no more, & pay them just so much saleryes as will command sefitiant abilityes, & no more.

Also in free Government the most sacred regard must be paid to the Constitutions established by the peopel to gard their Rights. No law aught or can be made or constructed conterary to the true meen- ing thereof without becomeing a nullity & those becomeing guilty who does it, let them be either

Legislative Judicial or Executive officers or bodies of men. And no parte of the Constitution can be constructed contrary to the declared Rights of the people.

In short a free Government is one In which all the laws are made judged & executed according to the will & interest of a majority of the whole people and not by the craft cunning & arts of the few. To support such a government it is absolutely necessary to have a larger degree or better means of knowledge amongst the people than we now have, which I shall endeavor to make appear before I close.

3dly. Shews how the Few & Many Differ in their Interests in its operation.

In the sweat of thy face shall thou get thy bread untill thou return to the ground, is the ever variable sentence of Heaven on Man for his rebellion. To be sentenced to hard Labour during life is very unpleasant to humane Nature. There is a great aversion to it perceivable in all men — yet it is absolutely necessary that a large majority of the world should labour, or we could not subsist. For Labour is the soul parent of all property — the land yields nothing without it, & there is no food, clothing, shelter, vessel, or any necessary of life but what costs Labour & is generally esteemed valuable according to the Labour it costs. Therefore no person can possess property without labouring, unless he get it by force or craft, fraud or fortune out of the earnings of others.

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But from the grate verietie of capacietyes strength & abilityes of men, their always was, & always will be, a very unequell distribution of property in the world. Many are so rich that they can live without Labour. Also the marchent, phisition, lawyer & divine, the philosipher and school master, the Judicial & Executive Officers, & many others who could honestly git a living without bodily labours. As all these professions require a considerable expence of time & property to qualify themselves therefor, & as no person after this qualifying himselfe & making a pick on a profession by which he meens to live, can desire to have it dishonourable or unproductive, so all these professions naturally unite in their skems to make their callings as honourable & lucrative as possable. Also as ease & rest from Labour are reaoned amongue the gratest pleasures of Life, pursued by all with the gratest avidity & when attained at once creates a sense of superiority & as pride & ostentation are natural to the humain harte, these ordirs of men generally asotiate together and look down with two much contempt on those that labour.

On the other hand the Labourer being contious that it is Labour that seports the hole, & that the more there is that live without Labour & the higher they live or the grater their salleryes & fees are, so much the harder he must work, or the shorter he must live, this makes the Labourer watch the other with a jelous eye & often has reason to complain of real impositions. But before I proseed to shew how the few & many differ in money matters I will give a short description of what Money is.

Money is not property of itself but onldy the Representative of property. Silver & Gold is not so valuable as Iron & Steel for real use, but receives all its value from the use that is made of it as a medium of trade. Money is simply this — a thing of lighter carrage than property that has an established value set upon it eyther by law or general Consent, For Instance, if a doller or a peace of paper, or a chip, would pass throughout a nation or the world for a burshel of corne or any other property to the value of said corne, then it would be the representative of so much property.

Also Money is a thing that will go where it will fetch the most as naturally as water runs down hill, for the posessor will give it whare it will fetch the most. Also when their is an addition to the quantity or an extrodinary use of barter & credit in commerce the prices of property will rise. On the other hand if Credit is ruened & the medium made scarser the price of all kinds of property will fall in proportion. Here lays the grate shuffel between the few & many. As the interests & incomes of the few lays cheifly in money at interest, rents, salaryes, & fees that are fixed on the nominal value of money, they are interested in haveing mony scarce & the price of labour & produce as low as possable. For instance if the prices of labour & produce should fall one halfe it would be just the same to the few as if their rents fees & salleryes ware doubled, all which they would git out of the many. Besides the fall of Labour and produce & scarsety of money always brings the many Into destress & compels them into a state of de-

pendance on the few for favours & assistance in a thousand ways.

On the other hand, if the many could rais the price of Labour, &c one halfe & have the mony circulate freely they could pay their debts, eat & drink & injoy the good of their labour with out being dependant on the few for assistance. Also high prices opperates as a bounty on industry & economy — an industrious & prudent man may presently lay up something against time of need when prices are high but if a person leaves off worke & lives high when prices are up his mony or property will last him but little while.

But the gratest dainger the Many are under in these money matters are from the Juditial & Executive Officers, espatssilly so as their incomes for a living are almost holly gotten from the follys and destresse of the Many, & they being governed by the same selfish prinsaples as other men are. They are the Most interested in the destresses of the many of any in the Nation. the scarser money is & the grater the destresses of the many are, the better for them. It not ondy doubles the nominal sume of their pay, but it doubles & thribbles their bisness, & the many are obliged to come to them cap in hand & beg for mercy patience & forbearance.

This gratifyes both their pride & covetousness, when on the other hand when money is plenty & prices high they have little or nothing to do. This is the Reason why they aught to be kept intirely from the Legislative Body & unless their can be wisdom enough in the Peopel to keep the three Departments

of Government intirely seperate a free Government cant be seported. For in all these conceived differenc of interests, It is the bisness and duty of the Lejeslative Body to determine what is Justis or what is Right & Rong, & the duty of every individual in the nation to regulate his conduct according to their detisions. And if the Many ware always fully & fairly represented in the Lejeslative Body they neaver would be oppresed or find fault so as to trouble the Government, but would always be zelous to seport it.

The Reasons why a free government has always failed is from the unreasonable demands & desires of the few. They cant bare to be on a leavel with their fellow cretures, or submit to the determinations of a Lejeslature whare (as they call it) the Swinish Multitude¹ are fairly represented, but sicken at the eydea, & are ever hankering & striving after Monerca or Aristocracy whare the people have nothing to do in maters of government but to seport the few in luxury & idleness.

For these & many other reasons a large majority of those that live without Labour are ever opposed to the prinsaples & operation of a free Government, & though the hole of them do not amount to one eighth part of the people, yet by their combinations, arts & skeems have always made out to destroy it soner or later, which I shall indeavour to prove by considering —

¹ “ Learning will be cast into the mire and trodden down under the hoofs of a swinish multitude.” Burke’s Reflections on the Revolution in France (1791).

4thly The Meens by which the few
Destroy it.

This I will indever to do by making a few remarks on the doings of the few on the eight following things, Viz. 1t on the Ignorance of the Many — 2d on the Combinations of the few. 3 on Larning — 4 on knowledge — 5t on Constitutions 6tly on Money or the Medium — 7th on Elections 8thly on wars.

1. On the Ignorance of the Many

Solomon said, Train up a Child in the way he should go, & when he is old he will not depart from it. And it is as true that if a child is trained up in the way he should not go, when he is old he will keep to it. It is the universal custom & practis of monorcal & dispotick government to train up their subjects as much in ignorance as they can in matters of government, & to teach them to reverance & worship grate men in office, & to take for truth what ever they say without examining for themselves.

Consiquently when ever Revolutions are brought about & free governments established it is by the influence of a few leeding men, who after they have obtained their object (like other men) can neaver receiv compensation & honours anough from the people for their services, & the people being brought up from their uths to reverance & respect such men they go on old ways & neglect to search & see for themselves & take care of their own interists. Also being naturally very fond of being flattered, they redily hear to measures proposed by grate men who

they are convinced have done them good services. This is the prinsaple ground on which the few work to Destroy a free government.

2. On the Combinations of the Few.

In a free government the few, finding their scheems & vues of interest borne down by the many, to gain the power they cant constitutionally obtain, Always indeavour to git it by cunning & corruption, contious at the same time that userpation when once began the safty of the userper consists onndly in grasping the hole. To efect this no cost nor pains is spared, but they first unite their plans & scheems by asotiations, conventions, & coraspondances with each other. The Marchents asotiate by themselves, the Phitisians by themselves, The Ministers by themselves, the Juditial & Executive Officers are by their professions often called together & know each others minds, & all letirary men & the over grown rich, that can live without labouring, can spare time for consultation. All being bound together by common interest, which is the stronges bond of union, join in their secret corraspondance to counter act the interests of the many & pick their pockets, which is effected onndly for want of the meens of knowledg amongue them.

3. On Larning.

Larning is of the gratest importance to the seport of a free government, & to prevent this the few are always crying up the advantages of costly collages, national acadimyies & grammer schooles, in ordir to

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make places for men to live without work, & so strengthen their party. But are always opposed to cheep schools & woman schools, the ondy or prin-saple means by which larning is spred amongue the Many.

4. On Knowledge.

The gratest & best meens of obtaining the knowl-edge nesecary for a free man to have, is by the Liberty of the Press, or publick Newspapers. To counter act and destroy this priviledge the few spare no pains to make them as costly as posable & to contradict everything in them that favours the interests of the Many, puting Darkness for Light, & Light for Darkness, falsehood for truth, & truth for falsehood, &c.

5. On Constitutions & Laws.

The few have a grate advantage over the Many in forming & constructing Constitutions & Laws, & are highly interested in haveing them numerous, intricate & as inexplicit as possable. By this they take to themselves the right of giving them such explanations as suits their interests, & make places for numerous lawyers & Juditial & Executive officers, which ads gratly to their strength by numbers.

6. On the Medium of Trade.

Money or a Medium of trade is of such a nature that their are innumerable ways by which the few can manage it to the injury of the Many, such as erecting banks & using parshality in remittances,

ruining publick & private credit, & stoping the circulation of money &cc; by which they can bring the Many into destress & set them to quariling & sewing one another, & so make a plenty of bisness for their party.

7. On Elections.

This is a grate object with the few, to carry their points in elections, this being the ondy meens by which the Many can separte their Rights. Consequently the few all unite in extoling the goodness & abilityes of their candidates, & of runing down & blackgarding the candidates on the other side. Also they will appeal to the electors in a veriaty of ways. Some they will flatter by promises of favours, such as being customers to them, or helping them out of debt, or other difficultyes; or help them to a good bargain, or treet them, or trust them, or lend them money, or even give them a little money, if they will vote for such & such a man. Others they will thretten, ‘if you dont vote for such & such a man,’ or ‘if you do’ &cc, ‘you shall pay me what you owe me,’ or ‘I will sew you’ — ‘I will turne you out of my house’ or ‘off of my farm’ — ‘I wont be your customer any longer’ — ‘I will wager a ginna that you dare not vote for such a man — if you do you shall have a bloody nose for it,’ Or they will hire some body to communicate these things to the electors. Also they will hinder votes from being counted or returned right, & often will themselves (or hire others to) put in two or three votes apeace. All these things have bin practised & may be again.

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8. On Wars.

So apt are Mankind to be rought up into a pashon by false reports & slight ofences that it is an easy matter for cunning men to set peasable families & frinds at variance, whare their is no grounds for it on either side. In the same manner Towns States & Nations may be set at war against each other, & I have no dout but that it has bin the case many a time, that thousands & Millions have bin slain on both sides equilly thinking that they have bin fighting in a good cause, when the hole matters in dispute would have mad little or no dispute between honest neighbours. Nor do I despute but that it has bin agreed upon by Rulers of Nations to make war on each other, ondy that they might have a pretense to raise & keep up standing armies to deprive their own subjects of their Rights & Libbertyes. This is a grate object with the few, & when they attain it, It ads so much to their number, strength & importance that they have but little more to fear, and the Many have but little reason to expect that they can maintain their Libertyes Long.

In the foregoing remarks I have but just touched on the prinsaple meens by which the few destroy free governments.

I Shall now proseed

5thly To Elustrate them by Sundry Remarks
on the Operation of these Causes in our own
Governments.

I Shall not here atempt to say any thing on the want of knowledge amongue the peopel, seposeing that it will fully appear by the remarks I shall make on the combinations & doings of the few.

*Remarks on the Society of Cincinaty*¹

Toards the close of the late War the Officers of the Continental army ware considerably borne upon, by not being paid according to contract, & many of them thought they ware not notifed enough in the fraiming the State Constitutions. At the close of the War they formed themselves into a Sociaty by the name of Cincinaty. This Institution caused grate alarm & many pointed publications in newspapers, considering it as a daingerous Body.

This uneasiness caused them at their first General Meeting to make very assential alterations in their Constitution, which they published together with a very plausible Circular Letter, indeavouring in it to make the world believ that they neaver would nor could prove any harme. But from that time their was a continual noys & wrighting from one end of the Continent to the other against the badness of publick credit, & the weekness & inseftiancy of the Federal Government.²

When the Shais affair happened in Masachusets it

¹ The author here repeats charges against the Society of the Cincinnati which were generally believed by plain folk at that time, but without foundation in fact.

² The Articles of Confederation, not the Federal Constitution.

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was heded by one of this ordir & many of the rest of them put under pay to surpress it.

Immediately after a Convention was caled to amend the federal Government, when a hard tusel was made chiefly by this ordir to establish a monorcal government in ordir to have their president made King. But though they failed in that yet by some meens or other they have rigeled themselves into almost all the posts of profit & honour in the federal Government. And from this ordir also origenated the funding sistim, by which those that labour for a living will have millions and millions of dollors to pay, for which the publick neaver riceived nor the posessor naver gave one single farthing for. Also from this ordir originated the Indian war which has cost us thousands of lives & six millions of dollors without the least advantage to us. From this ordir also originated the breach of the federal Constitution & a breach of the French Aliance by makeing the Brittish Treety, which has brought us almost to the brink of ruen.

When I charge these things to Cincinaty I do not meen that they did them alone but as planners & leaders in them, for to them also may be charged the organisation of allmost all the ordirs of the few who follow after & seport them in their diabolical ma-sures — which I will remark upon seperately as followeth.

On Speculators, Stock & Land Jobers

These ordirs of men ar made up prinsaply of Cincinaty, & by the funding sistim have risen like a black

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cloud over the Continant, & have gained welth like the Nabobs of the East. They have got the prin-saple command of our funds, & not ondy swindle honest individuals out of their property, but by their bribery & corruption have grate influence in our elections, & agitate our publick Counsels. By their land speculations & bribery they shook the government of Jorgia almost to its foundation & agitated the federal Government so that one of the Senetors chellenged one of the Representatives for a Duel, right in the midst of one of the most important debates they Ever was or ever will be ingaged in.¹

On Doctors

The Doctors have established their Meditial Societies² & have both their State & County Meetings, by which they have so nearly enielated Quacary of all kinds, that a poor man cant git so grate cures of them now for a ginna, as he could 50 years ago of an old Squaw for halfe a pint of Rhum. The bisness of a Midwife could be purformed 50 years ago for halfe a doller & now it costs a poor man 5 hole ones.

On Marchents

The Marchents have organised themselves & have their Chambers of Commerce & corraspondance from one end of the Continent to the other. Although they are in many respects a grate advantage to the

¹ The period 1791-96 was one of intense speculation, especially in land. See Edward Channing, *History of the United States*, III, chapter iv. The author here refers to the notorious Yazoo land frauds in Georgia, in which several wealthy New Englanders were involved. Senator Gunn of Georgia challenged Abraham Baldwin, representative from that state, to a duel in 1796, after a dispute over the Yazoo affair.

² The Massachusetts Medical Society was incorporated in 1781.

Many, by makeing vent for our produce & furnishing us with nesecaryes & conveniences from other cuntries, yet if we should be drawn into a war by their adventures we should pay very dear for all the advantages we receive from them. Besides, forron trade not well regulated is the most dangerous to the interest of the Many of any thing we have to fear. Our money may be all carryed off from amongue us for that which will do us no good.

Foron manufactories may be cheepest at first cost but not in the long run. Marchents may grow rich on the ruens of our mecanicks & manufactories, & bring us into as bad a condition as we ware in 1786, for they look onldy to their own interests. It is evident that a large parte of the marchents were in favour of the Brittish treaty & fond of carrying on a trade with that sinking Nation, which trade leaves a ballence against Amarica of more than 4 million of dollers annually, which will ruen ous in a few years unless it is Stopt.¹

On Literary Men & Coledges

The true prinsaples of Republicanisam & a free government may be taught to the Uths in some of our Coleges & Acadimies for aught I know, but it is evident that other political prinsaples are admited in many of them, or we should not be stunded with Exhibitions in favour of Monocyes & runing down

¹ The merchants of this period, bankers and ship-owners as well as traders, were largely Federalist and pro-British in politics. See the editor's *Maritime History of Massachusetts*, chapter xii. That England was a "sinking nation" and that American trade with her would sink America, were fixed opinions among Jeffersonian Republicans.

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Republican prinsaples as we often be.¹ One thing is prity cartain, that the Schollers are taught to keep up the dignity of their professions, for if we apply for a preacher or a School Master, we are told the price is So Much, & they cant go under, for it is agreed upon & they shall be disgrased if they take less, let their abilityes for the servis be what they will.

On Ministers of the Gospel.

The Ministers of the Congeragational ordir & others for aught I know have formed them selves in to Societies & many of them are incorporated & have their State & County Meetings which may be of grate service or absolutly nesecary in their Sacred functions. But it is no brech of Charity to sepose that they have some political purposes in them, nor do I deny their right to meddle in politicks. But as they receive their seport for teaching piety, religion, morality & things relitive to another world, & their hearers being not all of them capable of desarning betwen divinity & politicks, they aught when ever they teach obedience to the sivil Laws or reprove for disobediance &cc., to teach & explain to them the true prinsaples of our free government as Established in our Constitutions. Insted of preaching about & praying for Officers of government as infalible beings, or so perfect that we aught to submit to & prais them for all they do, (when in fact they are all our servents & at all times accountable to the peopel) they aught to teach their hearers to be watch-

¹ Harvard College, then the only college in Massachusetts save the small and struggling Williams, was thoroughly Federalist, and some of the commencement orations gave great offense to Jeffersonians.

full of men in power, & to gurd their own Rights & priviledges, with a jelous eye, & teach them how to do it in a Constitutional way.

If their prinsaples forbid this they had better let politicks intirely alone, for if they use their grate influence to mislead & prejudice their hearers against the true prinsaples of a free government (as Many of them have done of late) by praising our Executive for making the British treety, & in short by praising Monorcal & Dispotick government, & running down & blackgarding Republican prinsaples & the French Nation, they are in fact acting a treesonable & rebellious part & doing all in their power to destroy the Government, & their hearers aught not to attend on such teachings.¹ It is this conduct in Ministers that is the prinsaple reason for the neglect of publick worship & Religious Institutions that is so much complained of by the Ministers now.

Ministers have it more in their power to turn the minds of their hearers Right or Rong than any other ordir of men, & it has bin the general practis of all arbitrary governments to prostitute Religion to political purposes, & make a handle of this ordir of men to mislead, flatter, & drive the people, by the terrors of the other world into submission to their political scheems & interests. Consiquently they aught to be watched & garded against above all other ordirs, espatially when they preach politicks.

¹ These thrusts at the clergy were not undeserved. The New England parsons, horrified at the excesses of the French Revolution, had for the most part espoused the cause of England and of the Federal party with great vigor. Political sermons were the order of the day.

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On Juditial and Executive Officers

Free governments are commonly destroyed by a combination of the Juditial & Executive powers in favour of the interests of the few, & they do it by construing & explaining away the true sence & meening of the constitutions and laws, & so raise themselves above the Lejeslative power, & take the hole Administration of Government into their own hands, & manige it according to their own wills. The Free Republican in N^O 9 saith that in many of the antiant Republicks the Juditial power became the mear instruments of tirony, & proposes lawyors as a nesecary ordir in a free government, to curbe the arbitrary will of the Judge. But that appears to me like seting the Cat to watch the Creem pot.

Whoever takes a vue of the conduct & doings of our Juditial & Executive powers, both State & federal, for a few years back, must purceive a groing uneasiness & aversion in them to be bound down to the strict sence & meening of our Constitution & Laws. It is this Conduct in them that is the prin-saple cause of all our differences with France, & our contentions amongue ourselves. It would take Vol-ums to define them, therefore I shall not attempt here to describe but one, & that is but of little consequence. The one I shall attempt to describe is the call of General Hull on the Divition of Melitia under his Command, including the hole of the County of Middlesex, to dress themselves in Uniform & appear at Concord for a Military Exhibition.

The Laws nor Constitution of Masachusets doth

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not impower any officer, not even the Govenour, to call the Militia together in larger bodyes than Rigmments, nor them, whare it causes more than 20 miles travel for any Company (accepting on invation or insurrections), & their is no law to oblige any Soldier to git a Uniforme.

This call at first came out onndly as a request, & but few if any thought that they ware obliged to comply with it. But the ambition of the Rigimental officers was soon stired up to a high degree to see which would appear the most respectable with their Rigiments & Companies. All the arts of flattery ware used to obtain their ends. But seeing they ware likely to fail in them, they soon had recourse to thretning & falsehoods, declaring that their was ordirs & laws to oblige them to dress & go, & although the laws demand onndly 10 shillings for non appearance at Musters, hundreds of them ware made to believ that they must pay 4 times that sune if they disobayed. Consiquently thousands attended the Muster. Some went 30 or forty miles which took them 4 or 5 Days, & ware at 10 or 12 dollors Cost for a Uniforme. Some that did not go paid their fines rather than dispute their officers. Uthers being contious that their was no law for such things, stood tryal before the Justises, & some of them got cleared, But far the gratest part had both fine & cost to pay. (Thus much Juditial & Executive officers can do without any assistance from the Lejeslature). It is Seposed that a fair Cost at Least, in uniforming, time & Money 30 thousand dollors, without any advantage to the publick or satisfaction to those that planed it.

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For it pleased the Almighty to send a tremendous Storme upon them at the very moment they ware about to Exhibit, which spilte all their fun. But as it was all done without or in opposition to law, the authors of it have grate reason to be thankful that it did not rain fire & brimstone upon them insted of cold water.¹

I should not have swelled my remark with this narative, did I not believe that their was more intended than pretended by it. The pretence was to revive a Military Spirit & make us appear more formidable to other Nations, which appears to me to have a contery efect. For wheir a Nation pretends to a well organised & efetient government as we do, for individuels to start up in such a manner to do the bisness of government proved its weekness, for it is the duty of all in a free government to wait the

¹ I have found no reference to this amusing incident in contemporary newspapers, but the main facts that Manning mentions are confirmed by the files of the Adjutant-General's office in the State House. At this period the militia included all able-bodied men between the ages of 18 and 45, who with certain exceptions were required to turn out and drill once a year, providing their own equipment. After the Revolution the militia declined, but in 1797, anticipating a war with France, the Federalists endeavored to revive efficiency and morale. On June 13, 1797, the Adjutant-General issued a general order, in which he remarks that "the addition of a Uniform has been found to give great Animation to the Exercises of the Field. Tho' this depends upon the Ambition and Voluntary Efforts of Individuals, the Commander in Chief is highly gratified to Learn that numerous Corps in the Militia have supplied themselves in this particular in the most respectable manner. He returns them his sincere thanks for their Laudable exertions — and hopes they will not relax, in Pursuing an Object, which adds so greatly to their Martial Appearance." On August 10, 1797, he orders that "Major General Hull of the Third Division, having represented to the Commander in Chief that the Several Regiments and Corps composing his division, have made Extraordinary exertions in procuring a Uniform, and preparing themselves for a Public Review," is to assemble his division "in some convenient Place, for the purpose of being Reviewed." Finally, in a general order of September 28, 1797, the Adjutant-General congratulates the citizens of Middlesex County on their uniform appearance at Concord, and regrets that an "Equinoctial Storm" forced them to give up the manœuvres. "The Patience and Fortitude discover'd by both Officers and Men, under their Disappointment did them much Honour; and the Emulation and Ardour of the Several Corps under such Discouragements, evinced that tho' thoroughly wet, their Military Fire was not Extinguished." The leader of this fiasco was that unfortunate General William Hull who surrendered Detroit in 1812.

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detarmination of the Lejeslative power & punctually obey them. Then they would be general formidable.

I believe that this fus was more intended to sound the peopel, & try the strength of the Executive & Juditial powers over the Lejeslatives, & to set the Militia to murmuring so as to form a pretext for a standing army, for if it should once become a law to dress in such costly uniforms & attend such musters it would be cheeper to seport an Army than submit to it. I am Led to these conclutions of it, by the exetreordinary precautions & consultations that ware taken in giving out the ordirs, & they being such as may be fairly constructed into either positive ordirs or ondly requests. So that their is no way for a delinquent to defend his cause but by impeaching the Justis that gave judgment for his fine, & if we may judge from the trials of Hunt & Blunt, a single person had better submit to pay a hundred times ten shillings than seek for a remidy in that way. Consiquently the Executive & Juditial powers when united may take just such sums from individuells & execute just such military enterprises as they pleas.

On Lawyers

The Lawyers have established their Bar Meetings & become the most formidable & influential ordir of any in the Government, & though they are nither Juditial nor Executive officers, but a kind of Mule ordir, ingendered by, & many times overawing both. This ordir of men git their living intirely from the quarrls follyes disputes & destreses of the Many &

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the intricacy of our Laws, & it is from the arts & doings of these men, that the Juditial & Executive officers are furnished with the chief of their bisness & imploy. Consiquently they are bound together by the strongest bonds of union.

Many have bin the complantes against the Lawyers in years bak & of the intricacy of our laws, & much time spent & pains taken by the Lejeslature to remidy the evil. But all to little or nor purpose, & the soul reason is because we send these fee officers as Representitives to make our laws. Unless the peopel can be brought to calculate more upon the opporation of these little selfish prinsaples on mankind, & purge the Lejeslatures from fee officers, they cannot be governed by laws very long.

Thus we see all the ordirs of the few compleetly organised, & they have of late got so monstrusly crouded with numbers that it is imposable for them all to git a living by their profissions, & being in want of imploy they are aiding in all the plans & scheems of Cincinaty to influence the Many.

I would not be understood to be against the aso-tiations of any ordirs of men, for to hinder it would hinder their improvements in their professions, & hinder them from being servisable to the Many. Their need ondy one Society more being established, or proper meens of information amongue the Many to hinder their being daingerous in politicks. In ordir to promote those meens of information among the peopel ther has bin many sociatyees established, by Constitutial, Democracticle & other names, made up of men of Republican prinsaples & grate abilityes

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who did all in their power to inliten the peopel into their true Interests. But for want of the Society I have mentioned, or a proper chanel of conveying their sentiments to the peopel, & by the joint exertions of a majority of the other ordirs I have mentioned to hinder their usefulness & pregidis the minds of the peopel against them, have brought them almost into disuse. But I have no dout but that they will revive again when they think they can do any good. But before I proseed to describe the Society or meens of Knowlidge I have mentioned I must make sundry Remarks on what has bin & provibly may be done by the joint exertion of the few to inslave the Many, unless they meet with a check.

On Larning

No person who is a frind to Libberty will be against a large expence in Larning, but it aught to be promoted in the cheepest & best manner possable, which in my oppinnion would be:— For every State to maintain as many Coledges in convenient parts thereof as would be attended upon to give the highest Degrees of Larning, & for every County to keep as many Grammer Schools or Acadimies in convenient parts thereof as would be attended too by both sects summer & winter, & no student or scholer to pay anything for tuition, and for the County Schooles to pay a particuler attention to teaching the English languag & qualifying its scholers to teach & govern Common Schools for little children.

And for Every Town to be obliged to keep as Much as six weeks of wrighting school in the winter

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& twelve weeks of a woman school in the summer in every parte of the town. So that none should be thronged with two many schollers, nor none have too far to travel, & every person be obliged to send his children to school, for the publick are as much interested in the Larning of one child as an other.

If this method of Larning was established we should soone have a plenty of school masters & mistrises as cheep as we could hire other labour, & Labour & Larning would be conected together & lesen the number of those that live without work. Also we should have a plenty of men to fill the highest offices of State for less than halfe we now give. But insted of this mode of Larning the few are always striving to oblige us to maintain grait men with grate saleryes & to maintain Grammer Schools in every town to teach our Children a b c all which is ondy to give imploy to gentlemens sons & make places for men to live without worke. For their is no more need of a mans haveing a knowledge of all the languages to teach a Child to read write & cifer than their is for a farmer to have the marinors art to hold plow.¹

On Knowledge

The prinsaple knowledge nesecary for a free man to have is obtained by the Libberty of the press or publick newspapers. But this kind of knowledge is almost ruened of late by the doings of the few. But a few years ago we could have the hole news by one paper in a week, & could put some dependance on

¹ These criticisms were well taken. The common school system established by the colonists was shamefully neglected after the Revolution, while many academies for classical education were being founded.

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what was printed. But the few, being closely combined & detarmined to destroy our Government, find it nesecary to destroy the Liberty of the press first. To efect this they imploy no printers, but those that will adhear strictly to their vuies & interests, & use all the arts & retrick hell can invent to blackgard the Republican printers & all they print, & strive to make the peopel believe falsehood for truts & truts for falsehood, & as they have money & lasure they have their papers every day in the week. Consiquently the Republican printers double their papers, so that a labouring man must now be at the expence of three or four dollers anually & read & studdy halfe his time, & then be at a loss to know what is true & what not — thus the few have almost ruened the Libberty of the press.¹

On Elections

The hole interest of the Many lays in giting and keeping fully & fairly represented in the several branches of government, & this depends intirely in the Electors haveing a knoledge of the carictor, abilibities & politicle sentiments of those they vote for, & it is imposible for all to have a personal knoledge of them. In large towns their are some instances whier the electors do not all know those they vote for in them. The State Senetors are more unknown, the govenour & federal Representitives

¹ The first daily paper in Boston, the *Federal Gazette*, was founded in January, 1798, but it lasted less than three months. There was no other daily until 1813. At the time Manning wrote, there were four semi-weeklies and one weekly published in Boston; two semi-weeklies and eight weeklies elsewhere in the state. All were four-page sheets, containing mostly foreign news, and violently partisan in politics. All but two or three were Federalist. The annual subscription was generally three dollars.

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are furdur off still, & the Electors of president, being chosen ondly for a single Act & not accountable for his Conduct in that all Important Act. I have often wondered that under the present meens of knowledge, and in opposition to the numerous arts of flattery, deception thretnings & falsehoods practised by the few in elections, that the Many git so fully represented as they do, & that their are so many Representitives that expose themselves to the abuse of the few by Seporting our caws, when we seport them so poorly, & all the hopes I have of seporting our Libbertyes is by a reformation or improvement in this thing.

In our State Elections for federal Representitives & Electors, although their was the gratest pains takin on both sides to colect all the votes they could yet their was not halfe the peopel brought to act on either side & I will appeal to the returns for evidence. For according to the best calculations I can make their is not short of six thousand Voters in every district for a federal Representative, & in many of them they ware chosen with less than 500 Votes, & those colected chiefly by the influence of the few & their dependant, & from inconsiderate young men. The men of Consideration being at a loss who to vote for, chose not to act rather than be moritfyed after wards by finding that they had voted for those who did more hurt than good.

On the Constitution of Masachusets

The Constitution of Masachuset plainly declares in Bill of Rights Art. 30th that the Lejeslative,

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Juditial, & Executive powers shall be kept intirely sepearte from each other, but from misconstruction & inattention or want of knowldge amongue the peopel of the little interests that govern Mankind, they have in general if not always had a majority of the General Court Made up of Juditial & Executive Officers, untill our laws have become so numerous & intricate that it often costs a man a hundred dol- lers to git a shilling worth of Justis, & misses of it at last.

It also declares in Chapter 4th that the Deligates to Congress shall be chosen by Joint Ballet of the Senet & house of Representatives in one rome as- sembled.¹ But it has long sence bin broken over, by the Senet clameing a negative on the house in the choice of those important officers, & when ever their has bin a choice ever sence they have disagreed & some times it has lasted several days. But by the arts practised in elections the Senet always carry the day. If it had not bin for this breach of our Constitution we should not bin disgrased with two Senetors voting for the treety, nor would it ever have taken place.

On the federal Constitution

The Federal Constitution by a fair construction is a good one prinsapaly, but I have no dout but that the Convention who made it intended to destroy our free governments by it, or they neaver would have spent 4 Months in making such an inexpliset thing. As one said at the time of its adoption, it is made like

¹This chapter became obsolete when the Federal Constitution was adopted.

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a Fiddle, with but few Strings, but so that the ruling Majority could play any tune upon it they pleased. The trecty-making power which has caused so much rout was as well garded as any part of it, but as it has bin exercised, destroys the hole foundation & end the peopel had in makeing of it. For the soul end the peopel had in vue was to establish a government for national purposes ondly, reserving local consarns to the State governments, & in ordir that it mite be Representative, declared that they would not be represented with less than one from every thirty or forty thousand inhabitants, in said government.

The letter of the Constitution as it respects the trecty stands thus. In part 1t Sect 1t it saith — All Lejeslative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senet & a house of Representatives, & it declares that all powers & soverantyes not expresly given to Congress, is reserved to the State Governments, & all the express powers given to Congress are enumerated in part 1t Sect 8th without the least exception for any legeslative athority aniwheir else. In part 2d Sect 2d their is a solitary claws that Saith the president shall have power by & with the advice & consent of the Senit to make trectyes — but dont say what kind of trectyes — and their are saveral sorts of them.¹ Their are trectyes of peace with foron nations, & with rebels & insurgents, that need no law to carry them into execution. These he may make with advice &ccc but not without, for this clause must

¹ Jay's treaty precipitated a debate on the treaty making power in the federal government, which surpassed in length and vehemence even the debates on the treaty of Versailles.

be considered as a restriction rather than an inlargement of his power. For the true & ondy meening of the letter of the Constitution & of the peopel that excepted of it, was that all tretyes & dealings with forron nations should be done by the supreem authority of the Nation, which is the Legeslative power, & negotiated through the president, in the same manner as the president corrasponds with foron Ministers through his socratary.

Much has bin said about treatys being the Supreem Law of the Land, which if admited would finely inlarge the power of the Juditial & innable them by constructions to destroy all our laws. But I cant se a word of it in the Constitution. In part 6th their is a clause that plainly declares that the Federal Constitution, the federal laws, & all treetys shall be supreem to the state laws & constitutions, but nothing determining which of the three is supreem, excepting that it appears reasonable to take them as they stand, viz: — 1t the Constitution. 2dly, the Laws. 3dly, tretys.

By such an explanation the Judge is bound by his oath not to give judgment against either of them in favour of a treaty. If he doth he pergures himself. I would not be understoot that I think tretyes are less binding than laws when they are constitutially made, for it is the duty of the federal Legeslature to see that the Constitution, tretyes and laws do not clash with each other, & as their objects of legeslation are few they are to blame if their is any clash. Consiquently the bisness of the Juditial & Executive powers must be clear & plane.

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This is a fair construction of the letter of the Constitution & the sence & meening of the peopel when they excepted it. As to the mening of the Convention that formed it, it has nothing to do in the question, & it was an insult on the peopel to keep their debates secret at that time, & a grater one to site us to them now for an explanation, as Worshington did to the house of Representatives. The peopel excepted of it as it is, & no other way. So that the plane truth is that the British tetry¹ was unconstitutionly & treasonably made & those that made it aught to have bin impeached & brought to tryal immediately, before — ah here is the rub. The house of Representatives can impeach by a bare majority, but the Senet must try all impeachments, & two thirds of them agreed before they can punnish, so that in this case one halfe the trators must agree to condemn themselves before any of them can be condemned. Blush Amaricans, blush at your bosted Constitution. This proves the dainger of chuseing Senetors or men into office for 6 or even four years, for it was known & published in Inghland long before the treaty arived in Amarica that 20 of our Senetors had agreed to sign the treaty before they see it.

The conduct of the president in his apointing men to office & turning out those that are faithfull to

¹ Jay's treaty widened the breach between the Hamiltonian Federalists and the Jeffersonian Republicans. Although humiliating to the United States in some of its terms, the treaty was probably as favorable as could have been obtained at that time, and it certainly prevented a war with Great Britain. But it required America to observe a benevolent neutrality toward that power in her war with France. Washington lost much of his popularity in urging ratification, which was done by a bare two-thirds majority of the Senate. In 1796 an attempt of the House of Representatives to repudiate the treaty by refusing the necessary supplies was narrowly averted, and the election of 1796 turned largely on this issue. Manning's description of the merchants' efforts to have the treaty ratified and respected is not exaggerated.

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their trust, as he did in turning out Mr. Munro¹ & others, proves the dainger & folly of trusting men with such grate powers, that are elected so sildom into office. When the patriotick State of Virginia moved for amendments to the Constitution so as to have the time shortned for the election of Senetors, & another tribunal for the tryol of impeachments, I thought & am still confident that their might be corts erected in each district to try impeachments & remove from & appoint to all offices within the same, & every man be well paid for his services with less cost than we are now at. For it appears very unreasonable & absurd for a hole Legeslature or any branch of it to be detained on a tryal of impeachment & witnesses to travel 500 Miles when the hole issew is onldy the loss of a pety office, when their is hundreds stand ready to fill them that can sarve the publick better than those removed. Some may say that if such corts ware erected it would discourage men from undertaking in offices, but I dare say that if the duties of officers ware made as plain as they might be by the Legeslature & a single blunder in an officer was made Death, their would be anough of defitient abilibyes that would undertake for halfe the pay some of them receiv now. But these alterations never will take place without better meens of knowledge amongue the peopel.

¹ James Monroe, later President of the United States, was replaced as American minister to the French Republic, by someone more sympathetic with President Washington's policy of neutrality. The Republicans considered him a martyr to British influence.

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On the Adoption of the British trefy

A Short Revue of the Combined Doings of the few at the adoption of the British trefy will Show the Importance of which they vued it to their interests.

When the Monster came furst into vue, it was reprobated from one end of the Continant to the other. Scarsely one dare say a single word in favour of it. But as it wase an instrument that but few of the common peopel could comprehend, the petitions against it ware chiefly from the seeporf towns, & although they ware almost unanimous & couched in humble tarmes, yet the presidend signed it & proclaimed it the Supream Law of the Land. Hence arose a grate question, whether it was binding or not, & how we could get rid of it. Grate dependanc was put on the State Legeslatures for a Remidy, but as it had bin vary prosperous times for the Many for some years, & the few had bin borne upon by the high prices of Labour & produce, & as prosperarity is a time of inattention, & Nesecity the Mother of Invention, so the few by close attention in elecions had got a large majority of the State Legeslatures made up of Lawyors & other fee officers favourable to their interests. So that at their first meetings after the trefy was published, to our grate surprise the question of undiminished confidence in the president was put & carryed, in almost all the States.

Then all our hopes lay in the federal house of Representitives. When they met the same question was put but met with a check, & when the question

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or the treaty came forward, there was a large number of the most powerful Representatives advocated it, thundering out treason & rebellion against all those that dare say anything against it, declaring that it was constitutionally made. But to the immortal honour of the other side, after near 20 Days warm debate, they declared to the contrary by nearly two to one. And hear the Monster must have dyed for want of seplies, had it not bin for the most treasonable arts & doings of the few. But finding their carrictors if not their lives in dainger they racked their inventions to compel the house to grant seplies for said treaty. To effect this, circular letters were sent from the sender, to every part of the Continent, with a printed petition & Memorial ready for signing, attended with a collection of the most horred & frightful falsehoods that ever was invented by the Devil. In order to fright the people to petition the house to grant said Seplies, representing that the house were unconstitutionally with holding the seplies and trying to usurp all the powers of Government to themselves, & that unless the treaty took place Britain would certainly make war with us, & that their power over us & Vengeance upon us would be such that they would rouse off a grate gun 3000 miles distance & blow all our brains out if we stepped out to piss.

They also represented the certainty of a Civil War in such a manner that we could almost hear the small-arms crackle, & that the house of Representatives were led entirely by one Galatine¹ who was a

¹ Albert Gallatin, then leader of the Republicans in the House of Representatives.

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vagarent foronor & had no interest in this cuntry, & was trying to overset the government, & had bin the soul cause of the Pitsburg Insurrection which had cost the Government more than twelve hundred thousand dollors, & that the ondy choice we had was to follow this odious Galitine, or the virtuous wise & glorious Washington who had led us by the hand for 20 years, & had bin the cause of all the blesings & prosperity we had received for eight years back, & that now was the ondy time to chuse which of these carrictors we would follow, & if any person attempted to controdickt them in these cursed lyes, their eyes would sparkel, their chins quiver, & they would call them Jacobines, Shasites,¹ Disorganisers & Enemyes to all government. I do not pretend to say that such representations ware every whare so, but they appeared so to me wheir I was, & I thought that if the Swinnish Multitude had a behaved so they would soone have had the adultrious Hambleton² after them with fifteen thousand men, & though he could find nobody but men peasobly following their honest callings, yet he would have bosted of the expence of twelve hundred thousand dollors & laid all the blame to gabrial or some person as innosent, as he as he did the Pitsburg Insurrection to Mr. Galatine.

But sad to relate, for want of the meens of knowledge amongue the peopel they ware so frited with

¹ The Federalists commonly called the Republican party the "Jacobins," on account of their sympathy with the French Revolution. "Shaysite" meant a follower of Dan Shays in the Rebellion of 1786.

² Alexander Hamilton in 1797 was forced by the Republicans into a dilemma which required him to expose his relations with Mrs. Reynolds, rather than suffer the implication of financial irregularities when Secretary of the Treasury. The fifteen thousand men refers to the force which suppressed the whisky or Pittsburg insurrection.

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these lyes that they hastned to see which cold git his name to the memorial first, & I asked many afterwards what they signed for, & some would say they singed for the treaty, some for the good of the cuntry, some to keep from war, some for Washington & some to stand by the Constitution, & when I told them the true circumstances of the afair they would like lambs that are dumb after they are sheared, turne away & wish to hear no more about it. But to returne, these petitions thronging in upon the house from all quarters gave grate corage to the minority & equilly deprested the majority, so that after a long resistance a bare majority was gained & the seplyes granted for the treety.

Thus by the combinations of the few, with the ordir of Cincinaty at their hed, a seal is put upon the breach of our Constitution & almost innumerable other disadvantages which may appear by remarks on the trety its selfe.

On the British treaty & war with France

To describe all the bad efects of this treaty would take vollums. I shall therefore ondly mention two or three which have a direct tendancy to deprive ous of a medium & git us in to wars, espatially one with France.¹

In one of the article of said treaty it is agreed that no higher dutes shall be laid on articles imported from Britton. Conciquently we shall be thronged

¹ The French government took umbrage at certain clauses in Jay's treaty, severed diplomatic relations with the United States, and began spoliations on American commerce. In this controversy, Jeffersonian Republicans took the French side, placing all blame for the rupture on the treaty and its supporters.

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with their manufactoryes, made by their slaves who by the oppression of their government are obliged to worke for a trifel & live upon less, so that they will undersell & destroy all our manufactoryes, carry all our mony away from us, & all our futuer taxes must be colected from our lands property & dealings in the cuntry. In Art. 10th it is declared that their shall be no confiscations or seasures on private property belonging to subjects of either nation in case of war betwen the two powers, which the Laws of Natons declares to be just. This Article deprives us of our almost ondy defence against the Nation; for the emence sumes they have in our funds, banks & due from our marchents, together with the advantages of our trade to them, would be a grater gard against their makeing war with us than 50 sail of the line. But this is given up so that the property of these creditors who have grate influence in both nations will be safe in case of war, So that they will not be interested to oppose war but will redily join the few in both nations to make war for the sake of keeping standing Armies to inslave the Many.

But the gratest dainger from this treety is a war with France, & this seems to have bin the design of our Administration ever since the treaty was in contemplation.

For his grate Bul[l] of Imparshall Nutrality,¹ (however agreeable it might be to the peopel that did not know our obligations to France) was a direct violation of our trety with them, for by the treaty of Commerse Art 17th & 22d we ware bound to give

¹ Washington's Neutrality Proclamation of April, 1793.

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them, very grate priviledges, & to witholde them from their enemyes in time of war. Also by the trecty of Aliance Art 11 we ware bound to garanttee their west india Ilunds, a grate part of which they have lost for want of our fulfilling our obligations. Besides, the Cause of France was our own Cause. the Combination against them was against the Rights of Men & free governments all over the world, which we had just bin fighting for ourselves & provibli never should obtained if france had not assisted us, So that we ware solely bound by treaty, interest and gratitude to be on the side of France, & all these obligations would gladly bin fulfilled by the peopel if the Administration had done their duty. If insted of sending Jay to make the trecty they had adopted Mr. Medisons Resolutions, kept on the Imbargo,¹ stopt the importation of Brittish goods, sequestred the British property in our hands, &cc., & let them a made war on us as sone as they dared, it is more than provable (had this bin done) that the war in Urope would bin over before now — King Jorg under ground with Lois the 16th — Ingland a Republick — Amarica in good credit — & other ways much better orf than they be now.

But insted of this and in ordir to hinder the Legeslature from addopting those just resolutions, the government sent Jay to make the treaty, hypocritically & falsely pretending that he was sent ondy to

¹ In January, 1794, when relations with Great Britain were most critical, James Madison offered a set of resolutions discriminating against British trade in favor of nations that had entered a commercial treaty with the United States. The resolves passed the House, but were lost in the Senate through the influence of Hamilton. Shortly after, an embargo was laid on foreign commerce, but removed in a few months' time at the instance of the French minister, who wished to despatch a fleet of provision ships to France.

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demand restitution for our plundered property & the western postes, & charged our minister to tel the same lyes to France. But insted of fulfilling this Declaration by the treety he abandoned the modorn Laws of nations which he was bound to seport both by our trety with france & his own proclamation, & gave Britan libberty to sease their enimyys property on bord our vessels and to sease provisions going to their Enemies ports, Also made many articles controband that ware not so by the Laws of nations. This being done, the french ondly took the advantage of the 2d Art of our trety with them which is that nither party shall grant any purticular favours to other Natons, Respecting Navigation & Commerce, which shall not immediately become common to the other party, who shall injoy the same favour freely. So that the french are not to blame for takeing our vessels no more than brittan, & by the tretys giving this libberty it is seposed we have lost near halfe the shiping we owned three year ago. This is a true statement of the case that anybody may be convinced of it they will ondly looke on the treetyes & Mr Munroes & Fouchets pamphlets.¹

Yet we see these combined ordirs, trety-mungers & British agints under Cincinaty who ware so horribly fritned a little while bak for fear of going to war with Brittan, a crying out and are ready to tare their hare off to persuade us to go to war with

¹ James Monroe, *A View of the Conduct of the Executive in the Foreign Affairs of the United States*, and Joseph Fauchet (French minister at Philadelphia), *Sketch of the Present State of our Political Relations with the United States*. Both pamphlets appeared in 1797.

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France, who alone has concord almost all Urope & now in their full Strength & vigour. But the plane truth is the treaty and those that made it are the causes of all our disgrace & difficulty and it was unconstitutionally made, & aught to be for ever disownd and all those that made it, banished from the Continent, & their property confiscated toards paying the dammages. But if this cant be done we had infinitely better give france 2 or 3 million of dollers than go to war with them two years. This may appear by taking a short vue of the little wars & Insurrections we have had sence our Independance.

On the Pitsburg Insurrection¹

The Pitsburg Insurrection would neaver have hapned if it had not bin for some unreasonable irritations imposed on the peopel by trying to inforce the Excise Law their before it was put in execution in other parts of the Continent, or if they had known the mindes of the peopel on it in other parts, & after it had break out might have bin settled for a trifel if fatherly & kinde measures had bin used. But as it was maniged, it cost the Continent, upwards of twelve hundred thousand dollers.

On the Indian War

The Indian war was started under the Administration of Saint Clark² with out any just provocation & has cost us upward of six million of dollers & seaveral thousand of lives without any advantage to us.

¹ Generally called the Whisky Rebellion.

² General Arthur St. Clair. His unfortunate campaign of 1791 is referred to.

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On the Shais Affair in Masachusetts.¹

As I lived near wheir this affair hapned, & received some frouns from the atttors on both sides of the actt because I was apposed to their measures, I will indaver to give a more full but impartial account of it.

At the close of the late war with Brittan, although our paper money had dyed away, & left the peopel grately in debt by it, & a large publick det on us by the war, Yet their was a large quantity of hard mony amongue us sefitient for a Medium. But for want of a proper regulation of trade, & the prices of Labour & produce being higher here than in other cuntries, our marchents shiped it off lode after load by the hundred thousand dollers together untill their was but little left, & taxes ware extreemly high. Some countyes ware two or three years behind, & the price of Labour & produce falling very fast, creditors calling for old debts that they would not take in paper Money, & those that had money demanding 30, 40, & some 50 pursent interest, fee officers demanding double, thribble & some 4 times so much as the law alowed them, and all of them so crouded with bisness that it was hard to git any done, & property selling every day by execution for less than halfe its value, & jales crouded with debttors; & the peopel being ignorant that all their help lay in being fully and fairly represented in the Legeslature, many towns neglected to send Representatives in ordir to save the cost, so that the few onldy ware

¹ Shays's Rebellion of 1786. The author's account of this affair is just and accurate, except for the references to the Cincinnati.

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Represented at cort, with an Aristrocratical Bodoin¹ as Govenour at their head.

Under all these circumstances the peopel ware drove to the gratest extremity. Many countyes took to Conventions, Remonstrances & petition to a Corte where they ware not halfe represented. But not being heard to or in some instances charged with saditious metings & intentions some countyes ware so follish as to stop the Corts of Justis by force of armes. This shook the government to its foundation, for insted of faterly councales & admonitions, the dog of war was let loose upon them & they ware declared in a state of Insurrection & Rebellion. In these circomstances, the few ware all alive for the separte of Government, & all those who would not be continually crying Government — Government — or dared to say a word against any of their measures ware called Shasites & Rebels & thretned with prosicutions &cc. But a large majority of the peopel, thinking that their was blame on both sides, or vueing one side as knaves & the other as fooles, it was with grate difficulty & delay before a sefitient number could be raised & sent to surpress them. But it was done with the loss of but few lives.

This put the peopel in the most zelous sarches after a remidy for their greviances. Thousands & thousands of miles ware rode to consult each other on the afair, & they hapily efected it in a few months. Ondly by using their priviledges as electors, Bodoin was turned out from being govenour (& in a few years sickened & dyed) & Hancock was almost

¹ James Bowdoin. The popular John Hancock had refused reelection that year, scenting the approaching storm.

unanimously Chosen in his rome. Many of the old Representatives shaired the same fate, & a full Representation sent to Cort from every parte of the State, which soone found out meens to redress the grevances of the peopel, though they ware attended with the most dificult circumstances. So that everything appeared like the clear & plesent sunshine after a most tremendous storme. This is a streiking demonstration of the advantages of a free elective government, & shews how a peopel may run themselves into the gratest difficultyes by inattention in elections & retreive their circumstances again by attending theirtoo.

This Shais affair neaver would have hapned if the peopel had bin posed of a true knowledge of their Rights, Dutyes, & Interests, or if the government had done their duty according to the oaths they ware under, & if they had have had such a govenour as Hancok at that time. Even after the Corts ware stoped he would have Settled the hole afare for less than a thousand dollers. But as it was maniged it cost the State seaveral hundred thousands dollers, & this is always the way in wars. The few that are imployed to manage them make them as costly as posable & if the mater was sarched to the bottom it would be found that some of the ordir of Cincinaty have bin at the botom of all these wars, & got into bisness & grone rich by them & the farmers & Labourers have yet the cost to pay & So it will be again if we have a war with France.

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Remarks on the Funding Sistim¹

The funding sistim was established by Congress before we ware equilli represented their. Notwithstanding it was alway apposed by a very large number, & after a long & warm debate was agreed to by a majority of ondy one, 40 against 41 & by raking up all the State debts & the old Continental mony from its tomb, mounted it up to near Eighty Millions of Dollers, when according to the opininion of the other side their was not much more than twenty millions justly due, & we have already paid near forty millions Interest on this debt, the one halfe of which would have eniulated the hole debt.

Consiquently what we have already paid & have now to pay comes to a hundred million of dollors that the publick never received nor the posessor naver gave a single fathing for, & seposing that their is 4 million of persons belonging to the United States, it is 25 Dollors apeas for each man woman & child to pay, & seposing their is as many women as men & all of it assesed on the males, makes it 50 dollors apeace, which according as taxes are leaveled in Masachusets it would come to near two hundred dollors apeace for common or midling farmers to pay, And this is not halfe the dammages of the funding Sistim, for it is ondy made a pretext for al the imposed dutyes excises & land taxes that are laid upon the peopel, when the real intent is to make places for numerous sets of Officers with high saliryes & fees to colect them & is always so managed

¹ A typical Jeffersonian Republican view of Alexander Hamilton's financial system.

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that it takes the hole Revenue to pay the interest & seport government, & seldome doth that. For it is a declared fact that Warshingtones eight years glorious administration, (while the Cuntry was in as prosperous circumstances as ever they was or ever will be) run us above eight millions of dolers into Debt.

On the Name of Washington

Grate use has bin made of this name to deceive the peopel & make them content with the Administration of Government, & much time has bin spent in our Legeslative bodyes, & sacred pulpets, in the most fulsome & sickish praises & adulations of Warshington for what he aught to have bin bannished for, which has deceived thousands & thousands of honest peopel into their measures, which was prinsaply done, by pretending (in adition to his real services in the war) that he was the cause of all the prosperity we ware under, for all are sonsable that the times have bin veri prosperous to the interests of the Many. But this was not in the Least oweing to the measure of Administration but to the Republican opposition their too, or prinsaply to the three following Causes.

1. The free circulation of money arose prinsaply from the State banks which ware erected to oppose the parshality of the Continental Bank, which was cheafly imployed in speculation. But this would neavour have raised the price of Labour & produce, that arose from two other causes. One is that all the ordirs of men who live without Labour have got

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so monstrously crouded with numbers & made it fashanable to live & dress so high, that Labour & produce is scarce. If all of them would go to work & live as prudently as commonly labourers do, that are not absolutly needed by the publick it would soone make an ods in the price of Labour & produce. But the gratest cause is the Uropean Wars, which has made all kinds of produce in the gratest demand while we had a free trade, which provibly might have continued to this day if the treeaty had not bin made. But as these good times for the Many are in proportion bad for the few, so all the measures of Administration have bin opposed to them & the trety was made on purpose to ingure the rights of the Many & it has already efected it, for the lawyurs & all fee men have had more bisness within two years back than they had for sex years Before.

On partyes

Much has bin said of late about partyes & Many are the names by which they are described, such as Monorcal & Republican, Aristrocratical, & Dema-cratical, Royallests, & Jacobines, Toryes & Whigs, the few & the Many, all which names appear to me to describe but two sets of men differing about one & the same thing, or that the causes of their disputes arise from the conceived differance of interests I have bin discribing & the unreasonable desires of the few to tironise over & inslave the many, & the glorious Revolution that has lately taken place in France has alarmed the few to a very high degree. When it first brock out almost all the kings of Urope

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openly combined to destroy them or restore Mon-orca & tirony over them again, & so grate was their confidence of suckses that they agreed amongue themselves how to divide the taritory & Spoils. But as the Lord is always on the side of a people contending for their Rights & Libbertyes, he so inspired france with wisdomé & corage that they have already cut & tore them to peaces, so that they have all but one bin obliged to make peace with them on their own tarmes.

But all this has not discouraged that party. They are yet in hopes of efecting by bribery & corruption what they cant do by force of armes, for their combinations are extended far & wide & are not confined to Urope & Emarica, but are extending to every part of the world. Gog & Magog are gathered together, to destroy the Rights of Man & banish Libberty from the world, & they had nearly efected one of their nefarious plan in france last sumer, ondly by their arts & bribery in Elections, & for want of the meens of knoledge amongue that grate peopel. For by said arts they had got a governing parte of the Legeslature a large parte of the Juditial power & two of the Directory, combined in favour of overthrowing the Republick & seting up Roialty.¹

And the hand of providance was neaver more evident than in the overthrow of the Royallest on the 4th of September, for although their was abun-

¹ This version of the *coup d'état* of the 18 fructidor, year 5 (September 4, 1797), was the one generally believed by Jeffersonian Republicans. What actually happened was that the moderate Republicans in France, who desired peace with England and a decent policy toward neutrals, won the elections in the summer of 1797, whereupon the militant triumvirate of the Directory annulled the elections, filled the vacancies with its own partisans, and invented a royalist conspiracy to cover its misdeeds.

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dant evidence of the Conspiracy, yet it could not have bin expected that a bare majority of the Directory with all the assistance they could git would have attempted it, from mear prinsaples of virtue & obedience to their oaths to seorte the Constitution espatially when their complicated Constitution had not puticularly proved for such an afair. But providenc had so ordired it that their lives ware in dainger & they ware compeled to do their duty by selfe preservation & thus the Royallest ware over throne & that Grate Republick not ondly saved but established by it on a stronger foundation than ever they stood before.

That their is such an extensive combination in favour of Royalty is evident from the grate knoledg & grate calculations that ware made upon it all over Urope & in Amarica long before it took place, for the Royal news papers ware full of hints about it. Also its being published in Ingland that 20 of the Amarican Senetors had agreed to sign the British treety before ever it arived here is another evidence of said combinations, & thousands of others might be mentioned. Therefore I am strongly led to believe, by the grate zeal of our Administration, to send so many ministers to foron Nations & the carictors they send, & the grate opposition made in Congress to granting seplies for that purpose, that they are many of them somewhat ingaged in this combination. I also believe by the grate zeal of these partyes in Amarica, which appears in newspapers & the warm debates in Congress, that one party or tother will soone govern, or their will be a

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scrach for it. Therefore conclude that it is high time for the Republicans to Unite as well as the Roiallist.

Thus haveing indevoured to shew the causes that ruen all free governments and the circumstances we are brought into by them I request your canded atention to what I shall propose as a

Reamidy Against It

The ondly Remidy against these evils is by improveing our Rights as freemen in elections, nor do we need any other if we ware posed of knowledge enough to act rationally in them. For as I have before shewed, the duty of a Representative or any person chosen into office is to act as all his Constituants would if they ware all present & all knew what was for their own interests. And as men being elected into neavour so high offices, remain men still and are moved by the same prinsaples & passions as other men are, so that the temtation & emolument of 25 thousand dollors a year or any other some & to be worshiped into the bargain hath ten thousand charme with it, so that the love of office will compel them to aim at pleasing their Constituants. Consiquently if elections are closely attended to by all the peopel & they look well ever after their Representatives, their is no dainger but that they will do their duty. Therefore the ondly Remidi is knowledge.

I Shall therefore 1t Describe the knowledge nesecary for a freeman. 2dly Describe the Meens by which it may be obtained. 3dly Vindicate the plan by Sundri Remarks.

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1. Knowledge nesecary for a freeman

The Knowledge nesecary for every freeman to have is A Knowledge of Mankind — A Knowledge of the differend interest that influence all ordirs of men — A Knowledge of the prinsaples of the government & Constitution he lives under — A Knowledge of all the laws that immediately consarnes his conduct & interests — A knowledge that when laws are once constitutially made, they must be obayed, let them be neaver so rong in his mind, and that their is no remidy for greevences but by petitioning the authority that made them & using his Right in Elections — A knowledge of the true prinsaples, carictor & abilityes of all those he votes for into any kind of office — A knowledge of the existing sentiments wishes & circumstances, of all those of his interest in the town, county, State or Nation to which he belongs, so that he may unite in the choice of the ablest & best men to take care of & defend their interests. Also Unite in petitioning for redress of grevances. Also a knowledge of the moste interesting debates in the Legeslature & the side his own Representative takes in the desition. He aught to have all this knowledge independant of any ordirs of men, or individuals who may be interested to deceive or mislead him.

2. The Means by Which it May be obtained

As this knowledge cant be obtained without the expence of a continued sereies of publications that can be red with confidence as to their truth, and as

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newspaper knowledg is ruened by the few, & as the ordir of Cincinaty have purformed such wonders by their Asociations, I propose a Sociaty of Labourers to be formed as near after the ordir of Cincinati as the largeness of their numbers will admit of.

The Society to be composed of all the Republicans & Labourers in the United States who will be at the expense of obtaining the above described Knowledg.

And in ordir to be clearly understood how this Society may be formed, I have draughted a Constitution as nearly after the Constitution of Cincinaty as the circomstances will admit of, to which I refer the readers, to which he may find at the close of this adress.

Remarks In Vindication of the Society

As all new things make a grate stir at first, so it may be expected this will, & many objicitions raised against it. The ordirs of the few may denounce it as daingerous to Government. But if all the powers of Hell should rise up & assume the wisdom & grate-ness of Angels & try to overthrow it they aught not to be heard to nor minded, for it is perfectly Constitutianal, & what all the ordirs of the few have practised upon (as I have before shewen) & their opposition to it arises holly from selfeish vues. Therefore I will not say much on this objection.

But the trouble & expence of it may be a more serious one. Therefore I request your attention to the following statements & calculations. As to such a Magazein, it is not like three or four newspapers in a week that are good for nothing ondy when they

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are fresh from the press. But this will answer the same purpose if red anitime in the Month. Consiquently one will do for a hole Neighbourhood, and a Librarian would be well paid for his trouble by having them handy. As to the Town, County & State presidents & other officers, if they should do their duty without any pay but the honour, they would receive as much as Militia officers & many town officers for their services. But if they are well paid it cant be much to an individual.

As to the cost of the Magazein, I have no dout but that a good Republican printer would deliver one in every town in the State for 9/0¹ a year full large anough for a Labourer to reade, & seposeing six neighbours should join it would be but 1⁷/₆ apeace, for which they would have such valuable reading for themselves & hole families a year. As to spending three or 4 howers on the 4th of July to choose officers, it is no more than thousands do now, & if their did not more than a quarter parte of the Society meet the officers might be chosen & the organisation kept up, as well as if they ware all their.

As to establishing funds, sepose a class or an individuel puts inn 25 dollors, the interest of it would pay for a Magazein for eveal without the trouble of anuel or quarterly payments. If the Legislature of Masachusets should grant a fund seftiant for the hole State it would not cost more than the Shais Afaire did, which would naver a hapned if such a Society had bin established then.

¹ Nine shillings, or \$1.50. Although our present monetary system had already been established, New Englanders continued for many years to reckon in the terms of their colonial currency, at six shillings to a dollar.

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Sepose Congress should grant funds for the hole Continant, it would not cost much more than the pitsburge Insurrection did, which would never bin if such a Sosiety had bin formed. Nor would it cost much more than the 3 frygates did which are not much better to us than so many Birch Canows.¹ And if General Worshington should grant 20 thousand dollors towards the funds (as it is sad he offered toards a National Acadimi) it would be to a better purpose and make thousands of peopel think much better of him than they do now.

Some may sepose it would be very difcult to forme such a Society, But ondy let a printer be agreed with to advertise such a Magazein on tarmes that would do, and thousands would take them if they had nothing in vue but amusement, & they would sone find that it would be the cheepest way to organise themselves (as proposed) for that purpose. And if their should com on such times as their was in Masachusets in 1786 all the many would gladly be at the expence of obtaining such knowledge & the Society would come together like a building well framed & marked.

And by thus anually electing persons for corraspondance & to superintend the Magazen & newspapers they take, the Editors thereof will be furnished with the meens of conveying all the knowledge above described, & will be strongly induced to do it as compleat as possable from prinsaples of self

¹ The *Constitution*, *Constellation* and *United States*. Jeffersonians were much opposed to this new navy. The *Boston Independent Chronicle* of September 21, 1797, contains a sarcastic account of the launching of the "Federal Frigate" *Constitution*. "How long the Frigate will endure, we know not; but if it ever reaches the light-house, as Continental property, it is more than we believe."

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interest. Consiquently they will be red with confidence as to their truth, let the contridictions of the few be what they will.

But some may think this will be a slow way to bring about a Reformation in our Circumstances. But if a large majority of the peopel are Republicans (which I dout not), onldy let them do as the roiallest do, vote no person into any office (even not in the towns) but what they are confident are true Republicans & purge the State legeslatures from all fee officers. Also pay close attention to the choice of jurimen & make a common cause of detecting male administration & breaches of law by the Juditial & Executive officers (all which might be easily done if such a Society was formed), it would soone make an ods in all the Departments of Government. They would all feel as acting in the presents of their Constituants & act as servents & not masters. Also by being thus furnished with the meens of knowledge, all impositions of all ordirs of men might be detected & surpresed, & all hurtful fashons & customes Might be reformed, and Agruculture, Manifactoryes, Industries & Econimy promoted. For it is for the want of such meens of information that a grate parte of the studdyes & improvements of larnt men & Societyes established for these purposes are intirely lost.

If such a Society was established our Representatives in Congress would have some reason to boste of our being the most free and inlightned peopel in the world, & it would in their present disputes incorage one side & depress the other as much as the

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memorials & petitions did that ware sent their in favour of the Brittish treety.

Such a Society would convince the world that Emarica can & will be free, & would do more to prevent a war with france than all we have in our power to do other ways.

And I have often had it impressed on my mind that in some such way as this Society might be organised throughout the world as well as government, & by sotial corraspondance & mutual conses tions all differences might be settled, so that wars might be bannished from the Earth. For it is from the pride & ambition of rulers & the ignorance of the peopel that wars arise, & no nation as a nation ever got anithing by making war on others, for what evr their conquests may have bin the plunder goes to a few individuals, & always increases the misiryes of more than it helps.

For the prinsapel hapiness of a Man in this world is to eat & drink & injoy the good of his Labour, & to feal that his Life Libberty & property is secure, & not in the abundance he poseses nor in being the instrument of other mens miseryes. All the advantage of national dealings is commerce & the exchange of the produce of one cuntry for another, which if it might be carried on without wars would increase the hapiness of all Nations. But as it is in general conducted it ads to the miseryes of mankind.

Thus my frinds I have tryed to describe to you (not in the language & stile of the Larned for I am not able) But in as plane a manner as I am capable, the Causes that have always destroyed free govern-

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ments, & the daingerous circumstances we are brought into by said Causes. Also described what I think would prove a Remidy, which is not a costly one, for if it should once become general, confident I am that each penny laid out in it would soone save pounds. I have also placed a Constitution at the close of this adress with a Covenant ready for signing, which though an imperfect one may answer for the beginning of said Society. And unless you see more difculty in applying the Reamidy or less need of it than I do, you will immediately put it on foot & neaver give over untill such a Society is established on such a strong & lasting foundation that the gates of hell can never prevail against it — which may the Almighty grant is the sincear desire of

A LABOURER.

CONSTITUTION OF THE LABOURING SOCIETY

Introduction

1t Whereas it hath pleased the Supreem Govenour of the Universe for the fall of man to plase the ere-variables sentence on him that in the swet of thy face shall thou eate thy bred, it is undoutedly the duty of every person that is blesed with the facultyes of a sound body & mind, to apply himselfe industerously to some honest caulng for the benifit of himselfe & Society.

2d Although their are many caulngs by which men may live honistly without Labour, yet as Labour is the soul parrant of all property by which all are seported, therefore the caulng aught to be honourable & the Labourer respected.

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3d And whareas not ondy the Constitutions of our governments alow of asotiations & the Libberty of the press, but all ordirs of men who live without Labour have improved thereon, therefore we whoes names are hereunto subscribed, in ordir to establish as cheep, easy & sure conveyance of knowledge & larning nesecary for a free man to have as posable, & to promote a similiaraty of sentiments & manners, Industry & Economy, Agraculture & Manifactoryes &cc, Do hereby constitute ourselves into a Sociaty of frinds by the Name of the Labouring Society.

Article I

SECT 1. The persones who Constitute this Society are all the free male persons who are 21 years of age, who Labour for a living in the United States and are willing to joine & submit to the Regulations thereof.

SECT 2. Also their are admited into it all persons of ani other denominations provided they subscribe to its funds & submit to the Regulations of said Society.

Article II

The Society shall be divided into metings like the ordir of Cincinaty, viz. — Class — Town — County — State & Continental Meetings.

Class Meetings

SECT 1t. The Class Meetings may be formed by a grater or less number just as their situation, circumstances, or inclinations Sute. A single person may

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be a class if he will be at the expence thereof, or twenty may join together & have them a Librarian, so use the Magazein by turnes or meet together & have it red.

Town Meetings

SECT 2. The Town Meetings to include all the clases belonging to each town, unles they are two large. In that Case they may divide as they find nesecary, & they shall meet anually on the 4th of July at 4 o'clock arfternoone & choose them a president, Vice president, clurke & treasurer or colector.

County Meetings

SECT 3d. The County Meetings shall be formed by the presidents of the Town Meting when they can atend, & when they cannot the Vice presidents may in their roome, who shall meet Annually on the 1t tuesday in September & choose officers as the Town Meetings did.

State Meetings

SECT 4th. The State Meetings to be formed by the presidents of the County Meetings as the County Meetings ware by the Town presidents, who shall meet annually on the first tuesday In October & chooes them officers as the County Meetings did.

Continental Meetings

SECT 5t. The continental meetings to be formed by the State presidents, appointing a sefitiant num-

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ber of faithful persones somewhere neare the senter of the Continant, to receive & convey by corraspondance, all nesecary information in the safest & most expiditious manner possible.

Article III

The main bisness of all these officers & meetings are to invent the cheepest & most expeditious meethod of conveying all the knoledge described in the 35 pages of this book, to the Clases, espatially all they need in elections, by furnish[ing] the Clases with a Muntly Magazein, & the Town president with a weekly newspaper, & when nesecary by spetial meetings, hand bills & other corraspondance. Also to receive & examine all complantes against Juditial & Executive Officers for breaches of the Laws & Constitutions, & when nesecary to make presentments, prosecutions, & manage impeachments, receiving the pay for the hole from the Clases untill other funds can be established for that purpose. And as soone as can be thought proper, aply to the State Legeslatures for acts of Incorporations, to receive Donations & establish funds for the seport of said Society & introduce the best regulations possible amongue them.

Article IV

If any persone belonging to the Society should behave unbecomeing or be mistrusted of imbesling the Societys money, neglecting the duty he undertakes, or any ways trying to ingure the Society he may be removed from it by a majority of the Meeting to

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which he belongs, & if an Officer, another chosen in his room.

Article V

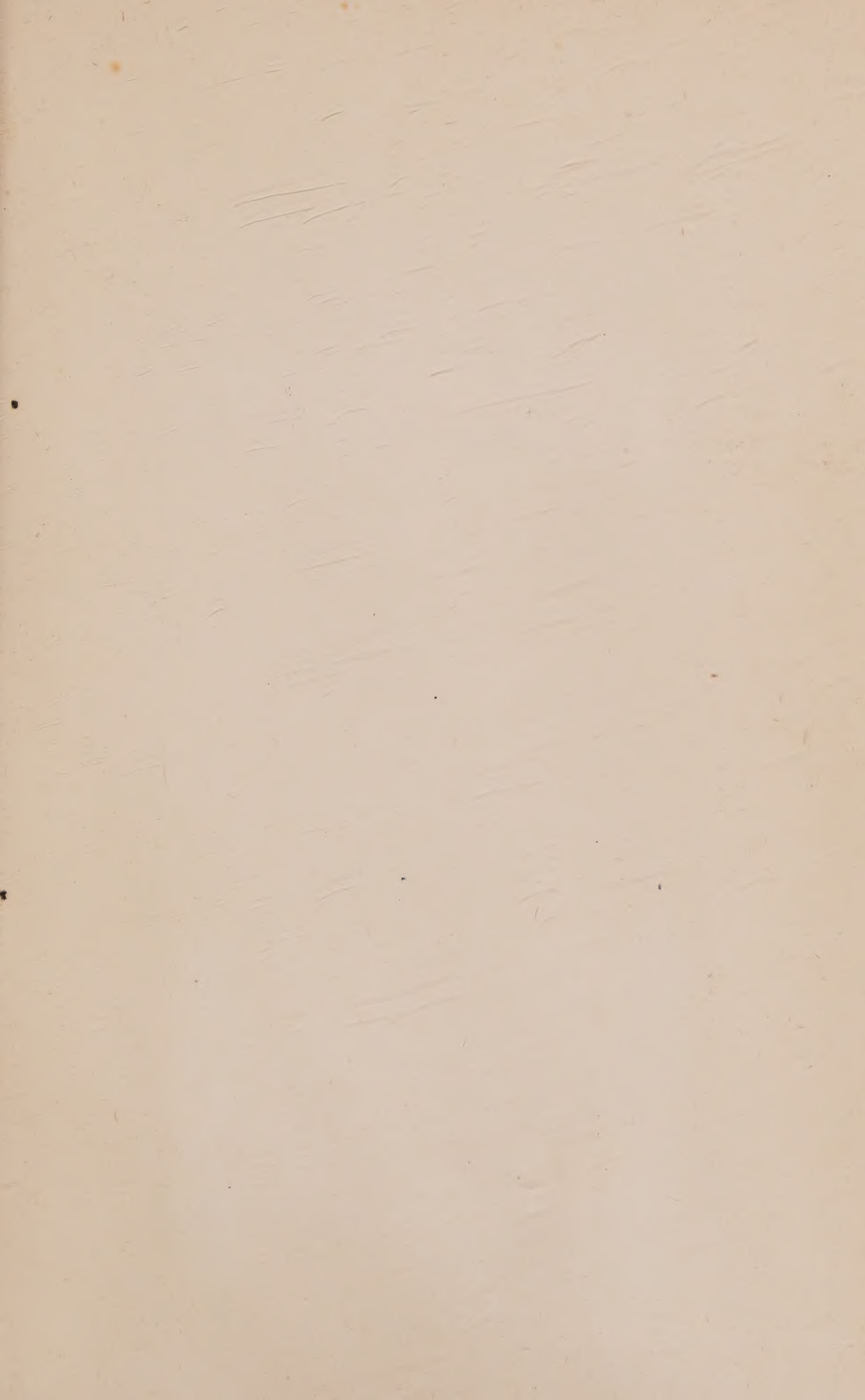
The president of either Meeting shall have power to call the Meeting together at anytime when he thinks nesecary, & in his absence the Vice president may do the same, & they shall be oblige to do so when ever fifteen Members of the Meeting requests it.

Article VI, Or a Covenant to be Signed

We the Subscribers, Inhabitants of the Town of _____ in the County of _____ and State of _____ haveing considered the foregoing Constitution & the ends for which said Society is formed, Do hereby ingage to submit to the Regulations & separte the Honour & Dignity thereof, so long as they are conducted agreeable to the Laws & Constitutions of the government we live under, & punctually pay our proportions of the cost of seporting the same, & that we will always be riady to separte the Constituted Athorityes in the surpressions of Insurrections, Rebellions, or Invation of a common enemy. Also that we will take pains to informe ourselves into the true prinsaples carictor & abilityes of all those we vote for into any office in the Government we live under, & that we will attend on all elections when we can & put in a vote for those persones we think will serve the publick the best.

Witness oure hand.

FINIS.



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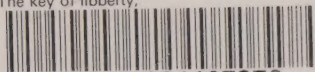
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